Volume 19, No. 12 December 1991

FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies®

Called Anything But a Child of God

Negative Stereotyping Perpetuates Society's View of Young Black Males as the Nation's Throw-Aways Instead of an Important Resource

The Jackson Legacy

Jesse Jackson's Past Presidential Candidacy Has Broadened the Nation's Political Culture and Helped Others Win High Office

Year-End Index

Index of 1991 Issues of FOCUS *and* Political TrendLetter

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

PRICE $1.50

Sixth Policy Institute: Serious Business

"It was the best of times. It was the worst of times." In many ways Dickens' words capture the challenges facing black elected officials today. While there are more black elected officials than ever, some in positions never before held by blacks, their collective impact on public policy is often diffused by forces beyond their control. While the national political debates all too often degenerate into campaign "sound bites" and race-baiting, public policies continue to ignore the human suffering and misery faced by increasing numbers of people, particularly African-Americans and other minorities.

It is in this environment that the Joint Center and the nation's black political leadership will convene the Sixth National Policy Institute of black elected officials January 23-25, 1992, at the front end of the Presidential selection process. This nonpartisan, educational conference will address the current political and economic climate: the recession, the national leadership vacuum, the resurgence of overt racism, and the collapse of the social "safety net." Because these domestic crises may affect the very future of the nation as a major international economic and military power, the need for renewed commitment and a major reordering of priorities is unavoidable. The issue is not whether but when. When will we begin to muster the national resolve and resources necessary to ensure future prosperity and shared opportunities?

We recognize the practical considerations and difficulties faced by elected officials and others as they set priorities for their commitments of time and resources in the conduct of their business. There are simply too many meetings and conferences that we ought to attend that we can't afford to because of conflicting time commitments and a general scarcity of resources.

Recognizing these dilemmas, the cosponsors (listed below) have decided to modify the Institute in two important ways. One is to shorten the Institute by starting it on Thursday, January 23, 1992 (instead of January 22) with a luncheon sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus. A speech by the Rev. Jesse Jackson will follow the opening plenary session. We also have reduced the registration fee for the Institute. On a first-come, first-served basis the registration fee has been slashed to $50 for black public officials and conference observers. Students with valid ID will be charged $10. New registration information and a mail-back card reflecting these changes are included in this issue of FOCUS. Participants who have pre-paid based on the old fee structure will have their excess payments refunded.

We have invited some of the best minds and most knowledgeable public and private figures to join us in confronting the difficult and complex issues that so often lock our people out of the economic and social mainstream. We hope you will join us at the Institute and that you will help sound the alarm that, for far too many Americans, this is the worst of times.

The conveners of the Institute are the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and the seven national caucuses of black officials: the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Association of Black County Officials, the Judicial Council, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, and the National Caucus of Black School Board Members.

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

Copyright © 1991 Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Inc.® The monthly magazine of the **Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *Focus* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. *Focus* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPES, Inc.

PRESIDENT/Eddie N. Williams
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT/Eleanor Farrar
VICE PRESIDENT, PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT/Kathleen Vander Horst
VICE PRESIDENT, FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION/Brenda Watkins Noel
VICE PRESIDENT, RESEARCH/Milton Morris
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION RESOURCES/Auriel Pilgrim
DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE/Russell Owens
DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS/Nancy Stella

ASSOC. DIR. OF COMMUNICATIONS, ELECTRONIC PROGRAMS/Mark Lloyd
EDITOR, *Focus*/David C. Ruffin
SENIOR EDITOR/Marc DeFrancis
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR/Odessa Maria Archibald
PRODUCTION MANAGER/Tyra Wright
TRENDLETTER RESEARCHER/Alfred Baltimore
WORD PROCESSOR/Merlinda Ceniza Novicio

BOARD OF GOVERNORS
Andrew F. Brimmer/Brimmer and Company, Inc., *Chair*
Charles U. Daly/John F. Kennedy Library and Museum, *Vice Chair*
Luther Hilton Foster/Alexandria, Virginia, *Treasurer*
Eddie N. Williams/Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, *President*
Norma Ketay Asnes/Ketay Asnes Productions
Hannah D. Atkins/University of Central Oklahoma
George L. Brown/Lipsen, Whitten & Diamond
Julian C. Dixon/U.S. House of Representatives
Marian Wright Edelman/Children's Defense Fund
Wendell Freeland/Freeland & Kronz
Ira C. Herbert/Coca-Cola North America
Elsie H. Hillman/Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Hector M. Hyacinthe/ Packard Frank Businesss and Corporate Interiors
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr./Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld
Bertram M. Lee, Sr./BML Associates, Inc.
Robert M. McGlotten/AFL-CIO
Richard H. Newhouse/Esquire, Chicago, Illinois
Lois D. Rice/Brookings Institution
Sharon Percy Rockefeller/WETA-TV/FM
Pauline A. Schneider/Hunton & Williams
LeBaron Taylor/Sony Music Entertainment, Inc
Felker W. Ward, Jr./Ward and Associates, Inc.

Members Emeriti: William B. Boyd, Louis E. Martin, Robert C. Maynard, James D. Wolfensohn

Eleanor Farrar/*Secretary to the Board*

Called Anything But a Child of God

Negative Stereotyping Perpetuates Society's View of Young Black Males as the Nation's Throw-Aways Instead of an Important Resource

by Jewelle Taylor Gibbs

The mass media have exhibited an appalling degree of distortion, bias, and insensitivity in promoting negative stereotypes and misconceptions about young black males and in failing to present a more balanced picture of poverty, crime, drug use, and social dysfunction in America. Collectively these misconceptions and stereotypes have assumed a life of their own and have been elevated to the status of revealed truth.

What might be called "the five D's" have commonly been used to describe young black men: Deviant, Disturbed, Delinquent, Disadvantaged, and Dumb. These images reinforce the long-held views of many that young black males are somehow less than human, providing educators, politicians, and business executives with a justification to ignore their problems, dismiss their needs, and blame them for a host of ills afflicting American society.

Black youth are more likely than their white peers to be born into poverty and spend their childhood growing up in a poor family, to be "pushed out" of school by underpaid and overworked teachers, to be last-hired and first-fired by discriminatory employers, to be victims of police harassment and brutality, to be unable to support a family, and to live in an inner-city ghetto exposed to the culture of drugs and violence. These conditions are statistical realities, but they have been frequently exaggerated to create a misleading portrait of all black males.

Perpetuating false stereotypes does not come without costs. No society can afford to throw away one-fifth of its youth by denying them opportunities, warehousing them in prisons, or dooming them to permanent dependency as a quasi-caste of surplus labor. Such reactionary solutions will inevitably result in more urban decay, higher costs for welfare, more social pathology, increased racial polarization, and unendurable levels of community violence.

It is necessary to challenge these stereotypes. A more balanced view of young black males is needed, because public perceptions of this group significantly affect the public policies and programs that touch their lives. Here are some of the most damaging misconceptions and stereotypes.

We Can't Educate Them

The media foster the myth that black males are dropping out of high school in ever-increasing numbers, but the figures often cited—of 40 to 60 percent high school drop-out rates for black males—are misleading. Actually, the national high school drop-out rate for young black males has steadily decreased since 1960, and high school completion rates have improved dramatically. In 1970, only 54.8 percent of black males between the ages of 18 and 24 had completed high school, but in 1989 over 72 percent had achieved this goal.

High drop-out rates do occur, needless to say, primarily in some hypersegregated, low-income inner-city neighborhoods in major metropolitan areas. But even these ghetto rates may be inflated, because they do not take into account students who move or transfer to other schools, or those who obtain their G.E.D. high school equivalency certificates by age 24.

According to recent annual reports from the American Council on Education, not only are black males completing high school at higher rates than before but they are performing better on standardized achievement tests. These improvements have occurred in spite of the inequitable treatment received in public school systems. For example, in many urban areas black males are twice as likely as whites to be labeled mentally retarded (often erroneously), to be physically punished, or to be suspended or *pushed out* by school authorities for infractions similar to those committed by white students.

Despite the improvements in high school graduation rates and test scores, the percentage of young black males entering and graduating from college has declined since the mid-1970s, primarily due to the cutbacks in financial aid, the decrease in academic support services, and the increase in racial tensions on college campuses. Ironically, with all the budgetary constraints today, expenditures on prisons are one of the few items that federal, state, and local governments continue to increase.

Why Don't They Get Jobs?

The popular belief that many young black males are not working because they are lazy or unmotivated is cruel and false. The real reasons why unemployment rates among young black men *actively seeking work* have nearly tripled over the last 30 years are: (1) the nation's economy has shifted from primarily manufacturing and agriculture to high technology, providing fewer unskilled and semi-skilled jobs for youth; (2) jobs have moved out of the industrial cities of the North and Midwest (where there are

(Continued on page 4)

Dr. Gibbs, a professor in the School of Social Welfare at the University of California at Berkeley, is a visiting fellow at the Joint Center.

Black Males

(Continued from page 3)

large concentrations of blacks) and into the suburbs and Sunbelt states; (3) black youth are competing with other minority youth, immigrants, and women who are entering the labor force at accelerated rates and who are often viewed as less troublesome employees; and (4) low-income black youth in inner-cities usually do not have the transportation needed to reach jobs in the suburbs or the mobility to follow the expansion of economic opportunities in the Sunbelt and the West.

In addition, one cannot minimize the continuing problem of job discrimination, which has been amply documented. A 1990 Urban Institute study, which followed equally qualified young adult black and white males seeking jobs in Washington, D.C., and Chicago, clearly demonstrated a pattern of employer discrimination against the black applicants. And an ABC television documentary aired last September graphically portrayed the discriminatory treatment of young black males in job interviews, apartment rentals, retail stores, and even in buying a car.

Black Males Are Lost to Drugs

The image of the black male as drug addict or drug dealer pervades the American media. This stereotype grossly misrepresents the actual incidence of drug use by black youth, and it illustrates the hypocrisy of a society that views substance abuse by blacks and whites differently. Film and television generally depict the drug problem as having a black face, but according to figures from the National Institute of Drug Abuse, whites account for 80 percent and blacks for 20 percent of overall illicit drug use. While "crack" has been widely publicized as an inner-city problem, cocaine was popularized in the 1970s as a white middle-class recreational drug, glamorized by Hollywood celebrities and purchased by Wall Street stock brokers and suburban yuppies.

Blacks Are Killing Each Other Off

Some observers have erroneously claimed that black males would live just as long as white males if homicide rates among young blacks were not so high. It is true that homicide is the leading cause of death for young black males. But the mortality rate of young black men from a number of diseases is also higher than for any other subgroup. It is surely an indictment of our nation's health care system that thousands of black males die prematurely every year from causes such as childhood asthma, diabetes, hypertension, and cardiovascular attacks.

Some of these conditions are associated with poverty or stress, others with diet or lifestyle, but practically all can be prevented or treated if detected early enough, provided that people have access to health care, good nutrition, and less stressful environments. The tragic reality is that black males in Harlem today have a shorter life expectancy than men living in rural areas of Bangladesh, one of the world's poorest countries.

Low-income black youth are more exposed than other young people to pollution, lead poisoning, unsafe schools, and violent neighborhoods. Added to these daily hazards are the recent increases in tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases, and AIDS. If these same health problems were decimating the population of white males in their prime, one wonders whether our government would not be more aggressive in developing comprehensive programs of prevention, early intervention, and treatment.

Lock 'Em All Up

The theme of young black males as a criminal menace is a mainstay of popular film, TV fiction, and docudramas as well as news stories in the print and electronic media. In 1990, criminal justice authorities released the alarming statistic that nearly one of every four black males ages 20 to 29 was involved in the criminal justice system—in jail, on probation, or on parole. Although some critics have questioned the accuracy of these figures, one very important statistic has gone unnoticed in the debate: *Three of every four young adult black males are not involved in criminal behavior.* Moreover, juvenile justice experts have pointed out that black youth tend to be arrested, booked, convicted, and incarcerated at higher rates than white youth who are committing similar crimes.

The brutal beating last year of Rodney King by Los Angeles police illustrates the criminal justice system's differential treatment of young black men. They are often assumed to be guilty of an offense until proven innocent.

While white youth are often released to their parents on their first non-felony offenses, black youth are more likely to be processed through the juvenile justice system. Their detention records not only label them as delinquent but also increase the probability that their opportunities for educational and economic advancement will be substantially reduced and that they will learn more serious criminal behavior while incarcerated.

Blacks' Problems Are Unique to the U.S.

The idea that problems of young black males and their inability to assimilate into society are unique to the United States is fallacious. Recent political and ethnographic studies of Great Britain and Western Europe demonstrate that non-white and ethnic minority immigrants have high rates of poverty and that their youth exhibit patterns of social dysfunction similar to those of blacks in the United States. This is true of West Indians and Pakistanis in England, of Arabs living in France, of Indonesians in Holland, and of Turks in Germany.

As the populations of these racially and culturally distinctive minority groups have grown in Western Europe, they have inevitably become the victims of racism, classism, and nationalism at the hands of white majorities. These European brands of racism are played out against

(Continued on back page)

December 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **Candidates are lining up to run for redistricted congressional seats in Maryland and Texas.**
- **The Supreme Court will decide whether Mississippi has done enough to desegregate its university system.**
- **David Duke lost his Louisiana gubernatorial race but his '92 presidential bid may force the GOP to reexamine plans for racial political appeals next year.**
- **Across the Nation looks at Chicago Alderman Bobby Rush's challenge of congressman Charles Hayes and Carol Moseley Braun's race against U.S. Senator Alan Dixon of Illinois, 12 black candidates were elected to newly created Louisiana legislative seats, black conservative Alan Keyes will try to capture U.S. Senator Barbara Mikulski's seat, four blacks (two Republicans and two Democrats) win seats in the New Jersey state legislature, and Sylvester Turner loses his mayoral bid in Houston.**

Candidates Vie for New Majority Black Congressional Districts

In November, the Texas congressional redistricting plan became the first of the Southern plans to be approved by the Justice Department, clearing the way for a new district to be formed in the Dallas area with a majority-black voting-age population. Two majority-Hispanic seats were also created. The leading contender for the Dallas seat is two-term black Democratic State Senator **EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON** who chaired the state senate's Congressional redistricting committee and tailored the new boundaries to her liking. The district lies completely within the city limits of Dallas where blacks comprise 50 percent and Hispanics 17 percent of the population.

Johnson, 55, a nurse and proprietor of a management consulting firm, has been active in Dallas politics for nearly 20 years. From 1972 to 1977 she served in the state house of representatives, interrupting her third term to accept a position with the Carter administration as regional director of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In 1986 she became the first black and the first woman elected to the state senate from the Dallas area. Johnson may face a challenge from black Dallas County commissioner **JOHN WILEY PRICE**, who is currently standing trial on assault charges. The primary is March 3.

In the East, the Maryland legislature in October approved a majority-black congressional district that encompasses part of Prince George's and Montgomery counties, both of which border Washington, D.C. The new 4th Congressional district is 58.5 percent black and largely middle class. It comprises most of Prince George's County, which has one of the fastest-growing black populations in the nation. The 4th is the nation's first majority-black suburban district. So far, five black politicians have shown an interest in the Maryland seat.

HILDA PEMBERTON, 51, is a three-term Prince George's County council member and aggressive advocate for issues relating to youth and minority business development. Widely regarded as a consensus builder, her council colleagues elected her to chair the body in 1986, making her the first woman to hold the position. In his first bid for political office, **ALEXANDER WILLIAMS, JR.**, made history in 1986 with his election as Prince George's County states attorney—the first black person to be elected to a countywide office in that county. He quickly made his mark by prosecuting brutality cases against officers in the county police force, which had a reputation for treating black citizens inequitably. Now in his second term, Williams, 43, has established an economic crimes unit to investigate and prosecute economic, financial and ethical crimes, a homicide unit, narcotics prosecution unit and an asset forfeiture unit which files proceedings to keep the cars of customers and dealers seized in illicit drug transactions. The unit has been cited as a national model.

ALBERT B. WYNN, 40, was elected to the Maryland senate in 1986 after serving three terms in the state's house of delegates. Currently serving as deputy majority whip in the senate, he has been instrumental in drafting

education, environmental, and anti-drug legislation during his career. Prince George's state delegate **NATHANIEL EXUM** has also announced his candidacy, and former state senator **TOMMIE BROADWATER, JR.**, convicted of food stamp fraud in 1983 and suspended from his senate post, has expressed interest in running for the congressional seat. **JAMIN RASKIN**, a law professor at American University and an expert on the county's politics, says that Pemberton, Williams, and Wynn are the front-runners because their experience is highly regarded, they are considered to be among the most powerful officials in the county, and they have the best fundraising capabilities.

Court May Say 'Enough' on University Desegregation

When can a state be considered to have satisfied its constitutional obligation to desegregate its universities? In the U.S. Supreme Court case *United States* v. *Mabus*, heard by the Court on November 14, the plaintiffs say that obligation is not fulfilled until all traces of segregation commonplace under the previous dual system of education have been eliminated. The defendants argue, however, that the state's obligation is met once individuals have the unfettered freedom to enroll in any state school. In the spring, the Court is expected to render its decision on *Mabus*, considered one of the most important school desegregation cases since the landmark 1954 *Brown* decision.

Mississippi first desegregated its state colleges and universities in 1962 when, under federal court order, it admitted **JAMES MEREDITH** to the University of Mississippi. Thirteen years later, **JAKE AYERS, SR.**, the parent of a black student attending Jackson State University, together with 22 others, sued the State of Mississippi, charging that it continued to support a dual system of higher education. As evidence they cited the differences—limited course offerings, lower funding, inferior facilities—between the state's five historically white institutions and its three historically black colleges and universities—Alcorn State, Mississippi Valley State, and Jackson State. Among the disparities cited was the state board of trustees' designation of three of the five predominantly white institutions as comprehensive universities (but none of the black ones). This classification means that the three so named white institutions are considered research universities, offer more extensive graduate and undergraduate curricula, and receive more money from the state (almost three-fourths of the $200 million allocated to the university system goes to the comprehensive universities). Consequently, Mississippi spends more per white student than per black student.

In addition, plaintiffs cited the small number of black faculty and administrators at the historically white campuses. The plaintiffs also have charged that the recent raising of standardized test scores required for admission to the comprehensive universities discriminates against blacks. A minimum ACT score of 15 out of 36 is required; only 30 percent of the state's black high school students achieve that score. Finally, they charge that physical facilities at the historically black schools are both inadequate and inferior to those at the other schools—new buildings are needed, repairs have gone neglected, and computers and laboratory facilities are antiquated.

In 1987, a U.S. District Court judge agreed with the plaintiffs that remnants of segregation were present in the state's higher education system, but he ruled the state was not obliged to do anything more than adopt good-faith nondiscriminatory policies (unlike its obligations at the elementary and secondary school level). The plaintiffs appealed that decision, joined by the United States Justice Department, to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. In 1990 that court upheld the district court's decision. The plaintiffs are now asking the Supreme Court to dismiss the lower court rulings and send the case back to the U.S. district court in Oxford to develop remedies to compensate for years of inequitable funding that have left the historically black schools at a disadvantage. The State of Mississippi argues in return that it does not operate a dual system of education but, rather, has adopted "race-neutral" admissions policies, and that students therefore are uninhibited in exercising free choice. The state also insists that it does operate recruitment efforts to increase minority representation in faculty and administration and that the disparate racial composition of the student bodies can be attributed entirely to personal choice. More than 90 percent of the state's white students today attend the historically white schools and more than 70 percent of the state's black students attend the historically black ones.

DR. LESLIE McLEMORE, director of the University Center at Jackson State University asserts that improving Mississippi's historically black schools "would give all students a greater choice, better academic programs to choose from, and provide better opportunities for integration." He adds, "The state cannot afford to abandon these institutions." The Court's decision in this case may have far-reaching implications for the nation's state-supported historically black schools. Similar cases in Alabama and Louisiana are pending in federal courts. If the courts decide against the plaintiffs, some in the higher education community fear it may lead to the unravelling of programs that benefit historically black campuses. This may mean the beginning of the end for some of the state-supported

schools that are struggling financially, largely they say because of historical funding inequities. Other observers worry that the Court may rule favorably but stop short of imposing remedies. The Court may concede that a dual system exists and order measures such as eliminating program duplications in the state schools, phasing out some of the schools, or merging the state schools to achieve a unified system. Such a ruling would be opposed by supporters of black campuses because they believe such measures would dissolve those schools' historical and racial identity.

David Duke and the GOP's Racial Politics

Flexing their political muscle, black voters in Louisiana played a major role last month in electing Democrat **EDWIN EDWARDS** as the state's governor. Their energetic turnout was key to defeating former neo-Nazi and KKK Imperial Wizard, **DAVID DUKE**, a Republican. Edwards had previously served three four-year terms as governor and has been elected in 1971, 1975, and 1983. As governor, Edwards broadened spending for social programs and teachers' salaries. But his administration was tainted with scandal. In 1985 and '86, he was tried, and eventually acquitted on federal racketeering charges. Throughout his tenure, Edwards maintained very good relations with Louisiana's black community. In 1988, he was the only major white Democratic officeholder to endorse **JESSE JACKSON'S** presidential candidacy. He could always count on substantial black votes, and in the race against Duke, he received an overwhelming majority of them.

Before he was elected in 1989 to the Louisiana house of representatives—his first political office—Duke who remains to all evidence an impassioned white supremacist, had also run for President in 1988. In 1990, he challenged U.S. Senator **J. BENNETT JOHNSTON** (D-La.), and while that bid was unsuccessful, he garnered a surprisingly high 44 percent of the vote, including a majority of the white vote. In that campaign, he appealed to white's frustration over the state's depressed economy. Duke has "renounced" his (recent) past associations with the Klan and the American Nazi movement, but has continued to use racial themes and code words in his most recent campaign, notably attacking affirmative action and 'welfare' recipients. Earlier this year, he advocated requiring welfare mothers to submit to insertion of synthetic hormone implants (Norplant) under the skin as a means of long-term birth control.

The gubernatorial contest attracted substantial national media attention, forcing the Bush administration and the national Republican party to publicly clarify their positions on Duke. President Bush and his party were faced with a serious dilemma: they wanted to distance themselves from Duke, yet their own rhetoric and past campaign tactics bore undeniable similarities. The Bush campaign had employed racial politics through its "Willie Horton" television ads, and for two years (until Bush's 180-degree change of mind—days before the Louisiana election) Bush, like Duke, had opposed the recently enacted Civil Rights Act as a "quota bill." Under pressure, Bush and Republican National Committee chairman **CLAYTON YEUTTER**, denounced Duke, indicating that if they could, they would vote for his opponent. By contrast, this year's GOP candidate for governor in Mississippi, **KIRK FORDICE**, was not criticized by Bush even though Fordice was publicly saying many of the same things as Duke; for example, Fordice advocated forcing welfare mothers to work. In fact, Fordice received strong financial support from the national GOP. After the election, Vice President **DAN QUAYLE** stated that there was nothing wrong with Duke's message, only with the messenger.

Election day turnout set a record for a statewide election—77 percent. Black voters turned out at an even higher 80 percent. Edwards won an impressive 61 to 39 percent victory. Democrats strongly supported Edwards with 73 percent, Republicans gave Duke 56 percent of their vote, and independents split evenly between the two candidates. While Edwards captured 96 percent of the black vote, Duke won the white vote by 55 percent.

One important statistic from the returns was Duke's white vote broken down by religion. Louisiana is an unusual Southern state because it has a very large Roman Catholic minority (42 percent); other Southern states have very few Catholics. While Duke won the white Protestant vote by a large margin, 62 to 32 percent, he barely carried the white Catholic vote, 52 to 48 percent. Thus, Louisiana's white Catholic vote was an important factor in bringing Duke's total white votes below the pundits' predictions. Duke has made good on his threat to enter the Southern presidential primaries against Bush in 1992 and has not ruled out an independent candidacy in the general election. Duke's large margin of support among white Protestants could be an important factor in most of the Southern states where there are few Catholics. While Duke is not expected to win the Republican nomination in '92, he could cause Bush a lot of trouble by splitting off support that has been a critical part of the GOP Southern strategy since Richard Nixon's 1968 campaign.

Across The Nation

ILLINOIS: Chicago Alderman **BOBBY RUSH** is challenging four-term Congressman **CHARLES HAYES** for his congressional seat representing the overwhelmingly black 1st District, which encompasses Chicago's impoverished South Side. The two Democrats will face off in the March 17 primary. Rush, 48, is a three-term alderman who represents a ward in the district and has held several Democratic party leadership positions at the state and local levels.

Hayes was elected to Congress in 1983, succeeding **HAROLD WASHINGTON** who vacated the seat to become Chicago's first black mayor. A former union leader who started as a machine operator, Hayes worked his way through the ranks of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union to become an international vice president of the union. Since his arrival in the nation's capital, Hayes has been a vocal member of the House Education and Labor Committee, advocating greater support for education, expanded job training programs, health care for the uninsured, a minimum wage increase, and better child care support.

Rush is not considered a serious threat to Hayes this time around. Local observers view his bid as a "career move," an effort to build name recognition and position himself for a later run when Hayes, 73, retires (although the congressman has given no indication that he plans to step down soon).

In another Illinois congressional contest, Cook County Recorder of Deeds, **CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN**, 44, is challenging the state's senior U.S. senator, **ALAN J. DIXON**, in the March Democratic primary. A Harold Washington protege, Braun served as legislative floor leader for Washington during his mayoral administration. So far, she has had an impressive public career. Braun was a prosecutor in the U.S. attorney's office and served 10 years in the state house of representatives, six of them as assistant majority leader. Her current Cook County office oversees real estate matters such as credits, liens and judgements, and employs more than 300 employees with a $6 million operating budget.

Braun is highly regarded in political circles throughout Illinois and has proven her electability by winning her current office in 1988 with more than one million votes. Her name has even been mentioned as a potential mayoral candidate someday. But whether she can muster the support to defeat Dixon remains to be seen. Dixon has a campaign war chest of over one million dollars and a lot of experience winning statewide elections. Prior to his two terms in the U.S. Senate, Dixon had been elected secretary of state and state treasurer and also served in both houses of the legislature. One campaign issue Braun might capitalize on is Dixon's vote to confirm Supreme Court Justice **CLARENCE THOMAS**, a vote that angered some of the state's women's groups.

LOUISIANA: Redistricting in the Bayou State (see November FOCUS) yielded an increase of black representation in the state legislature from 20 to 32, (eight senators and 24 representatives). In the fall nonpartisan elections, 12 black candidates won newly created seats, three in the senate and nine in the house. The new members—to be sworn in January 13—include, in the senate: **DONALD R. CRAVINS** of Arnaudville; state representative and chair of the state Legislative Black Caucus **CHARLES D. JONES** of Monroe; and attorney **MARC MORIAL** of New Orleans. In the house: **DAVID ARMSTRONG** of New Orleans, a former aide to Congressman **WILLIAM JEFFERSON**; **TROY A. CARTER**, a former assistant to New Orleans Mayor **SIDNEY BARTHELEMY**, **ISRAEL B. CURTIS** of Alexandria; **KYLE M. GREEN** of Harvey, a former assistant district attorney for Jefferson Parish; **CHARLES HUDSON** of Opelousas; **WILFORD PIERRE** of Lafayette; former Shreveport mayoral candidate **CUTHBERT O. SIMPKINS**; **SHARON WESTON** of Baton Rouge; and Grambling attorney and former assistant district attorney **PINKIE C. WILKERSON**.

MARYLAND: Black Republican **ALAN KEYES** has launched a second bid to become a United States senator by throwing his hat in the ring for his party's March 3 primary. If he succeeds in fending off the seven other announced Republican contenders, he will face the state's junior senator, Democrat **BARBARA MIKULSKI**, in the general election. In 1988 Keyes received 38 percent of the vote in his unsuccessful challenge against Democratic Senator **PAUL SARBANES**.

Keyes, 41, is a self-proclaimed conservative, heads Citizens Against Government Waste, an organization that advocates lower taxes. He has never held elective office but was assistant secretary of state for International Organization Affairs and ambassador to the United Nations Economic and Social Council in the Reagan administration. He is stumping for lower taxes and less government.

NEW JERSEY: Black representation in the Garden State's house increased by four in the November election: Democrats **ROBERT BROWN** of Orange Township and **GERALD B. GREEN** of Elizabeth, and Republicans **PRISCILLA B. ANDERSON** of Willingboro and **THOMAS SMITH, JR.**, of Asbury Park. Anderson, Brown, and Smith are currently mayors of their towns and under state law will not need to relinquish their mayoral seats. New Jersey allows assembly members to hold more than one elective office simultaneously because legislative positions are part-time. Anderson and Smith both defeated incumbents. Their victories helped the GOP gain control of the state legislature for the first time in 18 years.

TEXAS: Black state representative **SYLVESTER TURNER** failed in his bid to become the first black mayor of Houston. He was defeated by white businessman **ROBERT LANIER** in the December 7 runoff, 47 percent to 53 percent. (See November TL)

The Jackson Legacy

Jesse Jackson's Past Presidential Candidacy Has Broadened the Nation's Political Culture and Helped Others Win High Office

by Penn Kimball

With Jesse Jackson's announcement that he will not be a candidate for President next year, his political career seems to have entered a new phase—perhaps, at age 50, as an elder statesman. Now is an appropriate time to assess the Jackson legacy, especially the lessons learned from his 1988 presidential campaign.

Jackson's campaign in the primaries that year had an impact far beyond the nearly seven million votes he received and the 1,167 delegates pledged to him at the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta. As the frontrunner in six Southern states on Super Tuesday (in March when 15 Southern and border states held primaries), and finishing a close second in North Carolina and Texas, Jackson forced the nation for the first time to accept as viable the candidacy of an African-American for president.

By winning the Michigan caucuses and taking 20 percent or better of the vote in five other Northern states with small African-American populations Jackson demonstrated the power of interracial coalitions. His speech at the Democratic Convention, telecast on prime-time TV, stressed the "common ground" among Americans of every social and ethnic background and showed Jackson's charismatic appeal to voters disillusioned with politics-as-usual.

Jackson unabashedly staked out progressive positions on economic issues affecting farmers, women, industrial workers, and disadvantaged minorities—in blunt contrast to his Democratic opponents who tried to cast their party in either a "moderate" or "conservative" image. He raised the issues of health care for all Americans and corporate responsibility for the loss of U.S. jobs to overseas plants. And his insistent campaign for controlling drugs elevated the problem on the nation's political agenda.

Borrowing from these themes helped win victories in 1990 for Ann Richards in the Texas gubernatorial race and for Paul Wellstone, Jackson's Minnesota campaign chairman, in that state's U.S. Senate contest. Wellstone defeated the only incumbent to lose a senate seat that year. In 1991, Harris Wofford applied Jackson's themes in his upset U.S. Senate win over Richard Thornburgh in Pennsylvania.

In the long run, Jesse Jackson's 1988 campaign for the presidency had a profound effect—directly and indirectly—on the future of African-Americans in high office:

- Ronald Brown, Jackson's floor manager at the Atlanta convention, later became the first African-American to chair the Democratic National Committee.
- Once Jackson carried New York City in the April 1988 presidential primary, the feasibility of a black candidate for mayor had been documented. In 1989, David Dinkins, co-chairman earlier of Jackson's New York campaign, entered the mayoral race, unseated incumbent Ed Koch in the Democratic primary, and went on to win.
- In Virginia, L. Douglas Wilder built on the electoral infrastructure put in place by Jackson the year before, while fashioning himself as a moderate Democrat who happened to be black. Distancing himself from the controversial Jackson personality, Wilder enjoyed the benefits of two worlds and carried the Old Dominion by a razor-thin margin to become the nation's first elected black governor.
- Jackson's campaigns enlarged the number of active African-American voters. In 1986, these voters provided winning margins for four Southern Democratic candidates for the U.S. Senate. In 1991, black voters again provided the critical margin to defeat David Duke, the white supremacist Republican candidate for governor of Louisiana.

Despite Jackson's impact on American politics, this country has a long way to go before African-Americans can compete for high office on a level playing field. As Thomas Pettigrew and Denise Alston documented in their 1988 Joint Center study, *Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor*, race "serves as a political lightning rod that attracts political energy whether the candidates intend to or not."

For all his Rainbow efforts, Jackson won less than 10 percent of the white vote in the states of the Old Confederacy. He did best among white voters in states with small populations of African-Americans and thus fewer tensions over neighborhood housing, schools, and dwindling job markets. Jackson's own "Hymietown" remarks in 1984 cost him dearly among Jews four years later, as did his one-time association with Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. During the April 5 Wisconsin primary, at the highwater mark of his 1988 campaign, Jackson drew large audiences of seemingly friendly white listeners, but on polling day in this historically liberal state nearly three out of four whites voted for somebody else.

Whatever his personal future, Jackson's ability to force the nation to take him seriously as a presidential candidate has expanded our national democratic process. His campaign for the White House has very likely "kept hope alive" until a more tolerant voting public is ready to elect an African-American as president of the United States. ■

Editor's Note: The next issue of FOCUS will initiate our special coverage of the 1992 presidential candidacy of Virginia Governor L. Douglas Wilder.

This article is adapted from the book by Dr. Kimball *"Keep Hope Alive!"–Super Tuesday and Jesse Jackson's 1988 Campaign for the Presidency*, forthcoming in January from the Joint Center Press.

FOCUS Index to Volume 19 January to December 1991

Article Index

Bush Administration	Month	Page
Black Physicist Takes the Helm at National Science Foundation	Mar.	TL2
Civil Rights: House-Yes, Bush-No	June	TLI
Crime, Crack, and Black Youths	June	7
Diversity and American Competitiveness	Oct.	5
Glass Ceiling in Corporate America	Oct.	TLI
Louis Sullivan's Health Mission to Africa	Mar.	3
Politics, Morality, and Civil Rights	May	3
Were Sanctions Lifted Too Soon?	Aug.-Sept.	6
Business and Economics		
Africa Summit: Forming New Bonds	July	5
Black Economic Advancement: New Goals for a New Decade	Apr.	2
Black Women Are fastest Growing Group in Politics	Apr.	TL1
Diversity and American Competitiveness	Oct.	5
The Downside of Downsizing the Military	Apr.	4
Education: the Key to Economic Competitiveness	June	2
Expand Economic Opportunity: Yes We Can	May	5
Glass Ceiling in Corporate America	Oct.	TL1
Investing in Our Human Capital	Nov.	2
Civil Rights/Racism		
Black Economic Advancement: New Goals for a New Decade	Apr.	2
Called Anything But a Child of God	Dec.	3
Civil Rights: House-Yes, Bush-No	June	TL1
Commission to Address Problems of Black Men	Apr.	TL3
Compromise on Voter Registration Reform	Mar.	2
Court May Say 'Enough' on University Desegregation	Dec.	TL2
Crown Heights: Dreadlocks and Yarmulkes	Oct.	7
David Duke and the GOP's Racial Politics	Dec.	TL3
Death by Reason of Color	Aug. -Sept.	TL1
Diversity and American Competitiveness	Oct.	5
Environmental Racism Target of National Summit	Aug.-Sept.	TL3
FBI Chief Discusses Racism, Drug War	July	3
Glass Ceiling in Corporate America	Oct.	TL1
Health and the Politics of Inclusiveness	July	2
Human Rights Abuses in Africa	Nov.	TL3
If Martin Luther King Were With Us Today	Jan.	2
Job Discrimination Against Blacks Continues	July	TLI
Next Round for Voter Registration Reform	Mar.	5
Politics, Morality, and Civil Rights	May	3
Redistricting Victories	Nov.	5
Survey Shows Race a Factor in Elections	May	7
Three States Still Say No to King	Jan.	TLI
Voting Rights Act and Elected Judges	May	TLI
Congress		
Candidates Vie for New Majority Black Congressional Districts	Dec.	TL1
Civil Rights: House-Yes, Bush-No	June	TLI
Committee Power and the CBC	May	TL3
Congress Tries Again for Parental and Medical Leave Bill	Mar.	TLI
Congressman John Lewis Tapped for House Leadership	Aug. -Sept.	TL2
Deep South Senate Races in '92	Oct.	TL2
From Gray to White in Philly	Aug. -Sept.	TL2
Legislative Agenda: 102nd Congress	Feb.	TLI
Next Round for Voter Registration Reform	Mar.	5
The Abortion Debate: Still Unfolding	May	TLI
Voting Rights Act and Elected Judges	May	TLI
Drugs		
Called Anything But a Child of God	Dec.	3
Crime, Crack, and Black Youths	June	7
FBI Chief Discusses Racism, Drug War	July	3
Education		
Called Anything But a Child of God	Dec.	3
Campuses Debate Multiculturalism	Aug. -Sept.	4
Court May Say 'Enough' on University Desegregation	Dec.	TL2
Education: the Key to Economic Competitiveness	June	2
Federal Minority Scholarships: Act II	Apr.	TL2
Legislative Agenda: 102nd Congress	Feb.	TLI
Minorities in Medicine: 3,000 by 2000?	June	3
Strategies for Success in the '90s	Aug.-Sept.	2
Training Tomorrow' s Work Force	June	5
Unfinished Business of Carter G. Woodson	Feb.	5
When to End Busing	Feb.	7
Foreign Affairs		
Africa Summit: Forming New Bonds	July	5
Black America and African Liberation	Apr.	6
First World Poverty	Nov.	3
Foreign Affairs: A Joint Center Growth Area	May	2
Human Rights Abuses in Africa	Nov.	TL3
Kaifu Sacks Kajiyama	Jan.	TL2
Louis Sullivan's Mission to Africa	Mar.	3
Multi-Party Democracy in Africa	Jan.	3
The Roots of Pan-Africanism	Feb.	3
Were Sanctions Lifted Too Soon?	Aug.-Sept.	6
Joint Center		
Black Officials Open '92 Election Year	Nov.	7
Expand Economic Opportunity: Yes We Can	May	5
Foreign Affairs: a Joint Center Growth Area	May	2
Growing Up With Less	Jan.	5
The Promise of More Black Judges	July	7
Sixth National Policy Institute to Convene	Oct.	2
Survey Shows Race a Factor in Elections	May	7
Survey Reveals Preference for the Term "Black"	Mar.	TL3
Training Tomorrow' s Work Force	June	5
Judiciary and Criminal Justice		
The Abortion Debate: Still Unfolding	May	TLI
Court May Say 'Enough' on University Desegregation	Dec.	TL1

Court Rules That Voting Rights Act Covers Judges	July	TL2
Death by Reason of Color	Aug. -Sept.	TLI
The Promise of More Black Judges	July	7
Redistricting Victories	Nov.	5
Thurgood Marshall Retires from the Supreme Court	July	TL3
Voting Rights Act and Elected Judgeships	May	TLI
When to End Busing	Feb.	7

Politics

Black Officials Open '92 Election Year	Nov.	7
Black Women Are Fastest Growing Group in Politics	Apr.	TL1
Candidates Vie for New Majority Black Congressional Districts	Dec.	TL1
Committee Power and the CBC	May	TL3
Congressman John Lewis Tapped for House Leadership	Aug.-Sept.	TL2
David Duke and the GOP's Racial Politics	Dec.	TL3
Deep South Senate Races in '92	Oct.	TL2
The Democrats' Identity Crisis	Oct.	3
FBI Chief Discusses Racism, Drug War	July	3
Female BEOs Make Inroads in High Level Offices	Nov.	TLI
From Gray to White in Philly	Aug.-Sept.	TL2
The Jackson Legacy	Dec.	5
Keeping History as Important as Making It	Mar.	7
Schmoke to be Challenged for Reelection	May	TL2
Sixth National Policy Institute to Convene	Oct.	2
Survey Shows Race a Factor in Elections	May	7
The Mainstreaming of Black Politics	Feb.	2
Windy City' s Controversial Third Party	Jan.	5

Poverty

Called Anything But a Child of God	Dec.	3
Growing Up With Less	Jan.	7
First World Poverty	Nov.	3

Survey and Studies

Americans Not Politically Apathetic, But Disillusioned	July	TL2
Survey Shows Race a Factor in Elections	May	7
Survey Reveals Preference for the Term "Black"	Mar.	TL3

Women

Black Women Are Fastest Growing Group in Politics	Apr.	TLI
Female BEOs Make Inroads in High Level Offices	Nov.	TLI
Glass Ceiling in Corporate America	Oct.	TLI

Author Index

Author	Article	Month	Page
Adler, Marsha Nye	Next Round for Voter Registration Reform	Mar.	5
Allen, Joyce E.	Training Tomorrow' s Work Force	June	5
Anderson, David E.	The Promise of More Black Judges	July	7
Archibald, O. Maria	Windy City's Controversial Third Party	Jan.	5
Berry, Mary Francis	Unfinished Business of Carter G. Woodson	Feb.	5
Carrington, Walter C.	The Roots of Pan-Africanism	Feb.	3
	Black America and African Liberation	Apr.	6
	Were Sanctions Lifted Too Soon?	Aug.-Sept.	6
DeFrancis, Marc	Growing Up With Less	Jan.	7
Edwards, Lynda Lee	Politics, Morality, and Civil Rights	May	3
Frisby, Michael K.	The Democrats' Identity Crisis	Oct.	3
Gibbs, Jewelle Taylor	Called Anything But a Child of God	Dec.	3
Jackson, John L.	Campuses Debate Multiculturalism	Aug.-Sept.	4
	Crown Heights: Dreadlocks and Yarmulkes	Oct.	7
Jordan, Vernon E.,Jr.	Diversity and American Competitiveness	Oct.	5
Joshi, Pamela K.	Training Tomorrow's Work Force	June	5
Kimball, Penn	The Jackson Legacy	Dec.	5
Lloyd, Mark	When to End Busing	Feb.	7
Mahling, Kim	Multi-Party Democracy in Africa	Jan.	3
McFate, Katherine	Crime, Crack, and Black Youths	June	7
	First World Poverty	Nov.	3
Nickens, Herbert W.	Minorities in Medicine: 3,000 by 2000?	June	3
Owens, Russell E.	Black Officials Open '92 Election Year	Nov.	7
Parker, Frank R.	Redistricting Victories	Nov.	5
Pilgrim, Auriel	Keeping History as Important as Making It	Mar.	7
Reed, Cheryl	Crime, Crack, and Black Youths	June	7
Shane, Michael	The Downside of Downsizing the Military	Apr.	4
Sudarkasa, Niara	Africa Summit: Forming New Bonds	July	5
Williams, Eddie N.	Strategies for Success in the '90s	Aug.-Sept.	2
	Black Economic Advancement: New Goals for a New Decade	Apr.	2
	Perspective (Monthly Column)		

Black Males

(Continued from page 4)

backgrounds of economic competition, social tensions, and cultural clashes. Similarly, after 370 years of ancestral settlement in this country, even middle-class blacks have not been fully assimilated due to the deep-seated racial antagonisms that have served to justify and maintain racially separate schools, jobs, and housing.

The Status Quo Is Costly

In order to change the stereotypes about young black males, it will be necessary to change the conditions of their lives and reduce the poverty of their families. Government at all levels must stimulate the economy to create meaningful job opportunities for youth, rebuild and rehabilitate our inner cities to create viable communities, and provide the leadership to resolve the racial and social class tensions that threaten the stability and security of this nation. All Americans should be guaranteed the right to decent housing and affordable health care, the availability of safe and effective schools, and the opportunity for productive roles in the labor force.

Our society will pay a heavy cost if it fails to improve the quality of life for its young black citizens. Demographic trends clearly show that by the year 2000, blacks and other non-white youth will constitute at least one-third of the young adult entrants to the labor force. Educators, economists, and business leaders are beginning to realize the enormous impact this changing population will have on the economy.

By the beginning of the 21st century, if black males and other minority youth do not represent a healthy and well-educated segment of the society able to perform the technical, skilled, and professional jobs of the future, this country will surely lose its competitive edge to the industrialized nations of Europe and Asia. Moreover, if the gap between rich whites and poor non-whites continues to grow, the American economy will be further burdened by the escalating costs of unemployment, welfare dependency, crime, and massive social problems. ■

A similar article, "10 myths about young black males," by Dr. Gibbs was published in the "Focus" section of The Boston Globe on November 17, 1991.

Jesse Jackson to Speak at National Policy Institute

The Sixth National Policy Institute—the quadrennial conference of black elected officials—will convene in Washington, D.C., on January 23 to 25, 1992 at the Washington Hilton Hotel and Towers. The cosponsors of the Institute are the seven national caucuses of black officials and the Joint Center.

The first plenary session of the Institute on Thursday the 23rd will feature the Rev. Jesse Jackson who will discuss what African-Americans should expect from the presidential candidates. The Institute will also include concurrent workshops on education, health care, the drug problem, and economic development, a Friday breakfast seminar addressing black women in leadership roles, a luncheon sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus, and a Friday luncheon will focus on issues confronting black college students. The Institute will wrap up with a strategy session on the '92 elections.

The registration fee has been slashed to $50.00 for participants. A return card is included in this issue of *FOCUS*. For more information about the Institute, contact Rena Jarrett, NPI Program Associate, The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004.

FOCUS *is printed on recycled paper.*

FOCUS
Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies®
1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 626-3500

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

Postmaster: Form 3547 requested

NOTICE TO READERS: Please notify FOCUS of any change of address or title. YOU MUST ATTACH THE MAILING LABEL FROM THE BACK COVER when writing about service or change of address. No change can be made without this information. Allow 6 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT No. 6958
Washington, D.C.